

//gure's, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari-s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing.

The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, [ir-ru], which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shield.

The men rub only their arms and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder.

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/in(e)n) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves.

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/bo/bo) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called inaub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in.

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "nose sweat," *u-i an-(e)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly.

Before we leave the children, it should be pointed out how their common activities unite them in friendship. The boys and the girls or both together, when they are corvaks (*/pɔ́k/, vb.*) and have grown up in the same place, consider themselves comrades (*/gɔ́i/pɔ́k/n*) their life long. Each is the **//pɔ́k-/sɔ́b* or the **//pɔ́k-/sɔ́b* of the other. Usually I did not hear them call each other by their names but they addressed each other in a special form of intimacy as *so-tse* in the masculine and *a-Xase* in the feminine sex. It is not necessary to list individually the duties of those of the same age to each other. The general duty of this comradeship which includes all the others is sticking together in all phases of life.

[316]

5. The Dissolution of the Family

The dissolution of the family usually occurs early under present-day conditions. Formerly the large stock of cattle, similar to one of our large peasant farms, held the family together for a long time in the interest of economical operation and complete use of the property. Today the Hottemot is forced to earn his living at an early age in the service of the white man and so the children often separate when they are only half grown.

To what extent the death of one of the parents loosens the family ties cannot be measured without a knowledge of the laws of inheritance. I have not made any studies in this field.

I was only able to find out about burial customs. As they are maintained today, they are a mixture of old traditions, of Christian influences and of the progressive degeneration of the folk customs. The eyes of the corpse are closed, the body washed by old women and stretched out on its back. The arms are placed at the sides and the hands placed next each other in the lap with the back of the hand up. Skins are used as a shroud. They are wrapped around the body with the hairy side in and sprinkled with bucku powder and then sewn together. The face is kept uncovered until shortly before interment, then the tip of a skin that has been kept for the purpose is placed over it and sewed together loosely.

The body stays alone in the hut, lying on covers on the floor. The relatives, neighbors and friends spend the night together outside singing. Before the body is buried, the funeral feast begins. The men who dig the grave eat before they start the work. When the grave is about 3/4 of a meter wide and scarcely the depth of a man, a low, narrow side niche for the body is hollowed out at the bottom along the side of the grave. Usually burial takes place on the afternoon of the day after death. The

wrapped body is lowered by straps. Then two men descend and arrange the body in the niche in such a way that the pit is on its right and the head is turned towards the west. The body, the burial of which I witnessed, was placed stretched out on its back. A squatting position is said to have been originally customary. (68)

68. G. Frisch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas,
ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben,
mit Atlas, Breslau, 1872.

The niche is closed by thick brushwood, which covers the entire floor of the grave. There is a layer of stones on top of the brushwood. [317] The grave is then completely filled with earth or sand and a hill formed. Stones which are piled up in several layers above the ground complete it. A large stone, vertically set, rising half an arm's length above ground or sometimes a ginsbok horn mark the head end of the grave. This method of burial offers the best protection for the corpse from hyenas and probably can be explained from this point of view.

All the relatives and friends, even down to the smallest children who normally do no work, help to fill the grave. As we placed flowers, they strew aromatic bush powder on the mound.

Whoever returns to a grave after a long absence places a stone, a piece of wood or a branch there. The same thing is done by people who come to a place and find a friend no longer alive, as a symbol that he too helped to bury him.

Whoever dies quietly, continues to live as mildly in the dreams of the survivors. Whoever dies violently or deliriously, appears during the night to the survivors as a horrible ghost. But the question whether every departed one continues to live in some form or other as a shade I have never found considered. Their phantom ends in the story of the hare, whose cowardice deluded men of the immortality which the moon had promised them (cf. folk tale XXX).

Rain, storm or heavy clouds that appear about a week after death are sometimes thought to be a sign that the gall is flowing out of the decaying body. Also each change in weather, calm, storm, cold, heat, and thunder-storm, are thought to be a visitation of the dead. The Hottentots once believed a large cirrus cloud to be a visitation of a dead white man.

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might be buried alive, or else placed in some exposed spot or in bushes 766
to be destroyed by the elements or by wild animals.³ Similarly,
according to Hahn, "a man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave killed by the
master, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of
the desert to be feasted upon, so that they will be entirely annihilated."
Such people who are devoured by vultures or hyenas are called
//gamsa//ers klein, i.e. people who died the //gamsa death.⁴

There existed among the Hottentots also the custom, already 388
noted among the Bushmen, of abandoning elderly people to their
fate. Kolb describes it rather more fully than do other writers.
When old people become helpless or decrepit, he says, their eldest
son or nearest relation applies to the people of the kraal for permission,
never refused, to relieve himself of the burden and to deliver the
suffering old person from the miserable condition to which he is
reduced. The son kills an ox or a few sheep to regale the men of the
kraal, who take leave of their old neighbour. Then, on the appointed
day, the old man or woman is placed on a riding ox and, accompanied
by an escort, is conducted to a small hut specially built for the purpose
at some distance from the kraal. Here he is left alone, with a small
quantity of provisions placed by his side, to die ultimately of starvation
or to be devoured by wild beasts.⁵ [574]

This account may not be quite accurate in all its details. But there 888
is ample evidence that the exposure of old people in this way was 754
common and widespread among all the Hottentots.⁶ Hahn, inquiring
into the reason for the practice, was told by the Nama that it was
sometimes done by very poor people who had not enough food to
support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if
there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle
and milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the
influence of //Gamsa//, and did secretly mischief by practising witch-
craft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken,
were almost compelled to fly from them."⁷

When burial takes place, it is accompanied by a series of rites. 764

³ Cf. Schapera, p. 208.

⁴ Cf. ibid., p. 208.

⁵ *Voyage de la Comte de Saldanha*, 173.

⁶ *Geographical Magazine*, "On the Coast Tribes," 241; *Southwestern, Flourens in the Cape*, 5, 192.

⁷ *Geographical Magazine*, "On the Coast Tribes," 241; *Southwestern, Flourens in the Cape*, 5, 192.

⁸ *Southwestern, Flourens in the Cape*, 5, 192; *Southwestern, Flourens in the Cape*, 5, 192.

⁹ *Southwestern, Flourens in the Cape*, 5, 192; *Southwestern, Flourens in the Cape*, 5, 192.

¹⁰ *Southwestern, Flourens in the Cape*, 5, 192.

RELIGION AND MAGIC

764 Among the Cape Hottentots, according to some of the old writers,¹ a person when in the last agonies of dying was surrounded by his friends and relatives, who wailed and cried in lamentation, the outburst of grief reaching its climax as soon as actual death had occurred. The body while still warm was bent so as to bring the head between the legs, and in this position it was wrapped and tied up in the kaross worn by the dead person during life. Dapper and, perhaps following him, Sparrman state that the corpse was sometimes buried quite nude, but this is contradicted by all other writers.

Burial took place soon after death, if possible on the same day, or at latest on the following morning. There were no special burial grounds or recognized grave-yards. Immediately after the death had taken place, the head of the kral, with several of the men, went out to look for a suitable spot, where the grave was at once made. It took the form of a deep hole, in one side of which was hollowed out a special niche for the reception of the body. Sometimes they did not trouble to dig a grave, but selected a convenient cleft in a rock or the hole of some wild animal instead.

The body meanwhile was prepared for burial in the manner noted. When everything was ready, three or four men were appointed by the kral head or by the relatives of the deceased to carry it in their arms to the grave. It was never taken out through the door of the hut, but through an opening specially made for the purpose by removing part of the mat-covering at the back. While this was going on, all the inhabitants of the kral not concerned with the funeral preparations gathered before the hut, and squatted in front of the entrance, men and women apart, all lamenting loudly. As soon as the body was brought out, they followed it in two separate groups to the place of burial, still lamenting and wailing. Here the body was stuck into the hole or lowered into the grave, and placed in a sitting position in the niche. The grave was then filled in with earth, and afterwards covered over with a heap of large stones and branches, so as to prevent wild animals from getting at the body. Apparently no objects of any kind were placed in or on the grave. Frisch, it is true, says that the possessions of the dead person were buried with him, but this is denied by most of the other writers.

¹ The description here given is based mainly upon Keith, op. cit., 171-2, supplemented from Dapper, *Nederlandsche Beschryving der Afrikantsche Gewonen, Trade, Dood, etc.* (Amsterdam, op. cit., 1, 317-8); Dapper, *Reise in Europa, Afrika, und Asia*, 6, 190-1; Lichtenhagen, *Reise in Südliche Afrika*, 1, 390; Frisch, op. cit., 390.

765 His whole account, indeed, leaves much to be desired. Its main points of interest, perhaps, are the usages preliminary to burial, the purification ceremony afterwards and the funeral feast, and the abandonment of the locality. The description of the funeral itself is very sketchy, and unfortunately no other writer gives further details.

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764
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764 The series of rites connected with death and burial among the Naman have been more fully described, but as found at present they have undergone some disintegration. "They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial." These rites fall into the category of those associated with the conception of /*naa*, and in them the sacramental meal and the cleansing are still of importance. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle of the deceased. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes /*naa*, but his relatives—brothers, sisters, parents—also have to perform certain special rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. Similarly, if a woman dies her husband becomes /*naa*, while her own blood relatives perform certain other rites; and when a child has died both parents become /*naa* and have to undergo the usual rites associated with this condition.

764 As soon as a death has taken place, the body of the person is prepared for burial. Formerly according to a description given by Schapera, the hands were crossed over the breast, and the head bent forward between the legs, which were sharply folded at the knee. The body was then fastened together and wrapped in skins.¹ Hahn adds that before the body was wrapped up in this way or sewn up in skins, the son of the dead man first killed a goat and smeared the body of his father with the blood—a practice not mentioned by other writers. Nowadays the eyes of the dead person are closed, then the body is washed by old women, and stretched flat on its back; the arms lie along the sides, and the hands, palm downward, are folded

¹ The principal authorities are: Schapera, *op. cit.*, 224-27; Hahn and Elleg, "The Funeral Ceremony of the Hottentots," *Zeits. f. Ethn.*, 2, 4 (1904), 209-11; Hoernlé, "The Conception of /*naa*," 79-82; cf. also Albrecht, "Beobachtungen an Genußgesellschaften," 201; Hahn, "Die Nama-Beobachtungen," 223; Schapera, *Funeral Customs of the Nama*, 20-21; van Rensburg, *Names and Customs*, 224.

² *Op. cit.*, 79.

³ "Beobachtungen an Genußgesellschaften," in *Zeits. f. Ethn.*, *op. cit.*, 209, 210.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

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over the bosom. The body is then wrapped and sewn up in skins, whose hairy side, strewn with *bucka*, is turned inwards. The face remains free till shortly before burial, when it is covered with a bit of skin which has been set aside and which is now loosely stitched to the others.¹ Biden and Kling add that in these more degenerate days the body may sometimes be sewn up in old bags, if obtainable, and a small amount of salt is placed on its chest, "to prevent it from decomposing."² Burial takes place as a rule on the afternoon following the day of death. Till then the corpse is left alone lying on the ground skins in the hut, while the relatives, neighbours, and friends spend the whole night together outside the hut singing.

A suitable spot is selected in the vicinity of the *kraxal*, where a grave is dug in the sand by means of a gamsbok horn and a roughly-made wooden shovel. The grave is about three feet broad and six deep, with a long narrow niche along one side. The body is taken out of the hut through a special opening made for the purpose at the back, and is carried to the grave by the deceased's relatives and friends. Arrived at the graveside, one of the women, according to Biden and Kling, is appointed to approach the body and ask a relative whether the deceased gave drink to others when he was alive, i.e. whether he was a good person. "Whereupon all the women reply 'da' (yes), and the deceased is praised even if there is no cause why he should be praised. All the women arise and walk towards the grave and sprinkle *bucka*-leaves on the body."³ The body is then lowered into the grave by means of *riema*, and two men climb in after it to push it into the niche. According to Schulze, it is laid here flat on its back, with the grave itself on the right hand side and the head facing west.⁴ Biden and Kling, and several of the older writers, state however that it is placed in a squatting position, with the head always facing east. This certainly seems to have been the posture desired in earlier times.⁵

The niche is closed in with thick bushes or with reigs and stones which cover the whole floor of the grave. Large flat stones are next laid over these in such a way that no ground can fall upon the body. The grave is then filled in, everybody passing picking up handfuls of earth and sand which they throw in. Finally a mound of stones is heaped up over the covered grave, the customary explanation being that this prevents wild animals from getting at the corpse. These mounds are often raised very high. A big stone, placed upright

¹ Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 28.² *Op. cit.*, 193.³ *Op. cit.*, 193-4.⁴ *Loc. cit.*⁵ Biden and Kling, *loc. cit.*; Biden, *Forest of Names*, 65.

764 in the heap and projecting about a foot or so, indicates the head end of the grave; occasionally also the grubhook horn used in excavating the grave is placed in this position. Everybody adds a stone or twig to the mound, which is afterwards strewn with *lacksa*. Any relative or friend of the dead person unable to be present at the funeral will also, on visiting the *kraal*, go to the grave and place something of the sort on the mound. Cold water is likewise thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. "The reason given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the 'seventies of last century was that it 'cooled the soul of the deceased'."

765 When the people come back from the grave, all the inmates of the *kraal*, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, which is placed in front of the dead man's hut. Cold water is also sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. The explanation given for this washing is that the people would get sick if they did not do so, and the cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.¹ Meanwhile, the dead man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood into one or more pots.² The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others, all the different families who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and mixed with a certain herb, and then is stirred about with a chopper, which has been heated red hot, in order to make the meat rise. The immediate relatives of the dead man—men, women and children—collect round the pots and cover their heads with their *karmas* so that they perspire. Then an old man, related neither to the deceased nor to the widow, takes pebbles and makes a line on the stomach of each person—"to prevent their going pale from eating the food." The flesh which has been cooking is now eaten by the relatives only, other members of the *kraal* eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. These rites—the washing, the putting on of the black line, and the eating—are all done in the dead person's hut. It may be noticed here that the removal of the

¹ "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 191; Hahn, *Paul-Gloss*, 193.

² Hoernlé, *loc. cit.*

³ The description which follows is taken from Mrs. Hoernlé's account in "The Customs of Nama," *loc. cit.*

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

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Sometimes more substantial offerings of honey and honey beer are left at his graves. The Nama say that when he returns in the evening from his walks in the veld he is glad to see that they thus honour him. He still gives the people good advice, and tells them how to kill the lion's children and other wild animals, and he prevents danger from befalling them if they honour him.

Hahn identifies *Heisi Ekh* with both *Tai //Gosh* and the Moon. All three, he says, come from the east, and that is why the doors of the huts and the graves are found in that direction. The bodies of the dead are also placed towards the east, so that their faces may look towards sunrise. Even those who possess wagons place them in such a position that the front is open to the morning sun. And the Nama, when asked why they do so, always answer, "Our grandfather *Tai //Gosh*, or our ancestor *Heisi Ekh*, came from the east." Both are invoked as "Father" or "All-Father"; both are rich and possessed of plenty of cattle and sheep. They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear.

This identification cannot be accepted. In spite of the resemblances noted by Hahn, the differences are more numerous and far-reaching. *Heisi Ekh* appears as the central figure in a cycle of myths; he has a family, and his dealings with various other people and animals. Moreover, like the Mantis in Cape Bushman folk-lore, he is full of tricks and his character is not altogether blameless. *Tai //Gosh*, on the other hand, figures only in the combat with *//Gosh* which gave him his name. He is also looked upon with far more respect and reverence than is *Heisi Ekh*. He has creative powers, which *Heisi Ekh* has not. The latter seems to be in no way connected with the sun, whereas *Tai //Gosh* is essentially the sun god, and is worshipped as such. *Heisi Ekh*, again, is prayed to only at his graves, and there is nothing at all to link up these graves with *Tai //Gosh*. The two, moreover, are always spoken of by the natives themselves as separate beings. It appears, therefore, that they must be regarded as distinct from each other.

It is difficult to determine exactly what graves are specially connected with *Heisi Ekh*. Alexander, as we have seen, distinguishes *Heisi Ekh*'s graves, "large heaps of stones on which had been drawn a few bones," from "the common graves covered with a heap of

Hannah said none of the people who had treated him so far had had the disease badly enough, hence all the attempted cures had failed. It is interesting to note here that this head lisp has to be treated with great deference. It is the root, which is astringent, (somewhat like ginger), which is used. When a person comes to the bush, before digging he must put down a bracelet, or a band, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to do the same when I received a piece but all the virtues leave the root, even if it did not itself wholly disappear.

However it may be with the 'sacramental' meal, the purification meal certainly takes place when the fire is cleaned away and renewed. The reintroduction to the duties of life also takes place in the usual manner.

Peter Kolben, writing at the beginning of the 18th century, states that "if a Hottentot, man or woman, convalesces of a dangerous sickness, 'andaramaken' is performed by killing, for the entertainment of the *krad*, a head of great or small cattle, according to the circumstances of the family". This may be a feast similar to the one in which all partake when the *layin* leaves her *khari* line.

The purification of the survivors after a death. The series of rites connected with death have perhaps undergone more disintegration than any of the others described. They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another, so that often enough so many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial is over. The old writers, of whom Kolben is the earliest and the most detailed on this point, state quite definitely that the hut of a deceased person was left standing with all the belongings, and that the camp or *krad* was moved. My informants state that in the earlier days of their civilization the hut was always moved to some other part of the camp, whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all. Several deaths occurred while I was at Wallich Bay, and one while I was in Hermina, and in none of these cases was the hut moved. Yet where an animal is to be had the feast takes place, and in any case the cleansing is done even now. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle, and there are interesting things to note in each case. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes *hau*, but his relatives, brothers, sisters, parents, have also to perform certain rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the *krad* who take part in the proceedings. It will be as well to describe these purification rites before attending to the widow.

When the people come back from the grave, they all wash their hands in cold water

* Kolben's Hottentots. A translation from the High German by Haden/ London, 1780, p. 205. (The High German edition is itself a translation of P. Kolben, *Captain James Oude Indiaman, Rotterdam, 1780*.)

764 which is placed in front of the dead man's house. In the old days they wailed and wailed in lamentation. Nowadays they sing hymns. In Herula where a man died late in the afternoon, hymns were sung right through the night and all the morning until the burial by the missionary took place. Meantime the man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood separately into one or more pots. The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others; all the different families [27] who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and the herb called //gishab is mixed in with it. A chopper, //p, which has been heated red hot is [42] then stirred round in it to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the man — men, women, and children — collect round the pots and cover their heads with their skins so that they perspire (sweat). Then an old man, who is related neither to the man nor to the woman, takes potstick and makes a line on the stomach of each person — "to prevent their getting pains from eating the food", says IAmatla. The sweating is done in the dead person's hut, and so is the putting on of the black line and the eating. The relatives eat only of the flesh, other members of the band eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. In Herula I was told that the line on the stomach was made with the blood, not with the potstick. Some informants say the sweating is done in the hut, others say outside. Unfortunately in the case which I witnessed myself the people were too badly off to have meat at all, and there was simply coffee drinking. The widow takes no part in these rites at all. "She doesn't belong to the man's family", one informant said indignantly when I asked.

768 How long the widow remained here, I do not know. One informant says, "Even to this day, after the death of a husband, or child, a woman won't use cold water for a few days". But the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. Formerly, according to Gertzel and others, it was done sometimes after the burial when the hot food had been rebuilt in another spot. Other remarks show that even now some time may elapse between the burial and the cleansing, for another informant tells me that if a widow were obliged for some reason to go from the shore in Wallich Bay to an inland settlement, she would [513] on no account take the path through the valuable kame plants, but would go by the desert path where no vegetation of any sort is to be found.

During the interval, whether it be long or short, the widow must not touch smoked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is cleansed from head to foot with a jump or, on the Orange River, with a lye made from a species of euphorbia, or, in Wallich

* Some of the woman's relatives take part in this ceremony.

been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon-⁷⁸²
light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up ⁷⁸⁵
here and there. 178

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. WITCHCRAFT AND SUPERSTITION.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama ⁷⁷¹
religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged ⁷⁸⁴
in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances.

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than ⁷⁷⁵
their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of children as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves ⁷⁶⁴
jointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place ⁷⁷⁶
and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heinich, who has already been mentioned, for this reason exhorted his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying per- ⁷⁸³
son, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behavior among animals, as portents of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one accidentally, or ⁷⁶⁴
points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of ⁷⁸⁷
the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of ⁷⁶¹
an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

571 each occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
538 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances,
clapping their hands, clinging, and stamping with their feet.
Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their
feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral ex-
cesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy
do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Xama does not enjoy robust health. The slender
body, often weakened by diarrhoea and irregular food has

164 severe colds, and consumption and venereal disease demand
many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves

145 when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this
reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty

748 consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are
dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have
lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopefully in

764 177 hopeless nursing. Burial is a squatting position with a skin
wrapped round the corpse, in a rotting grave 1½ metres deep,

in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in
far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally
been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they
have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, cushion in
it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the ground
prepared for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The
grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and feet and
is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones.
Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an
epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not
unknown; but they have not yet adopted the custom of
looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to
inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resem-
bling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on
each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapped in skins
or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be
covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was
thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse.
These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding
one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern
time with its interments conducted in the Christian and
European way.

VIII. LANGUAGE AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

177 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. G. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1688, writes about it as follows:—

might take them away or lose for granted, that is to say, as Professor Brown puts it, "he does not of necessity consciously and directly realize that value. He is made to realize it indirectly, through the belief impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger."² And, further, I would stress, that this same protective thing is dangerous apart from the full social life. It is not claimed that the leaders of the tribe have willingly used these means to make the individuals in it appreciate the blessings they have, but an analysis of primitive ceremonial customs can be made to conclude that this is the psychological basis of many of the customs, and that they are the means used to maintain the cohesion of the tribe, by making its members realize that to society they owe the things of value they have, so that they are willing to keep up the old customs and traditions on which it is believed the well-being of the whole depends. "So that the protective care of such things," says Professor Brown, "are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realize (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question."³ Things which are useful to the community, important for its cohesion, come to partake, as it were, of the strength of the community, and by this power they afford protection to its members.

Let us first consider the protective power of water. Among the Tsimshian of Water Bay and the Kwakiwot of Franz Josef, and probably among all the Noron, cold water is, or was formerly, thrown on the grave of a person newly buried and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. The reason given me was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig them, but the reason given to Thompson Hahn in the summer of last century was that it "cooled the soul of the departed."⁴ Further, when the people return from the grave to the land, all the inmates, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, and cold water is sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. In itself the washing of the hands with water might not be significant, especially as each person is obliged by custom to pick up handfuls of earth and throw them into the grave, and one might suppose that they were simply washing the dirt off, but we have noted that the near relatives do not touch the water, and, further, the reason given for the washing on the part of the other inmates is that they would get sick if they did not do so. The cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.

Now, one of the great deeds of the Kaman is the *[Hoi Kiam]* the ghosts which hover over the graves, or come from them, and who formerly were thought to cause most of the sickness among

² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴ *Paul Wilson, the Supreme Being of the Ethnologue, T. Hahn, p. 115.*

Bucka becomes, *Letulina*. Nama Sab (Tyndale). F/shore. 278
(name given to writer). Two varieties known in Nama as 257
D/shora, D/thonas or Haas buiba, and F/kabouria. Con-
sidered by Hottentot to possess great virtues in curing disorders,
and rarer forms are valuable to the Native. In powder used for
dusting, for fire and sunburns. Baby powder made of D/shora
kept in tortoise shell puff box, roasted with fat and dropped in [55]
ear for earache. Powder also mixed with C/ghonnati, an
acacia thorn sucker, and then considered a high class powder.
The second rate powder used for babies was mixed with ground
acacia thorn bark, and is named O/kai. D/shora Bucka is
roasted with oil and fat, mixed with mother's milk and dropped
into the ear for earache. F/shore is rare and valuable, and a
thumbful is worth from a sheep to an ox. It is obtained in
mountainous districts and when used is pounded and tied in a
cloth over which hot water is poured. Is this a method due to
excess of economy?

F/then denney, or sweet honey, a sticky soft-leaved sweet 278
tasting plant, is also used for powder making.

The thorn tree sucker was put to many uses. The Bush-
men used its ashes to blacken his face. To-day an oil not
unlike cajuput is expressed and used for rheumatic troubles.

Xgharia or Xhosa, which means "small strong," is a 278
plant so far not identified. The whole plant is ground up and 764
strewed on dead bodies, and is also applied to the living body
when it has an unpleasant odour. This powder is also used as
a snuff to keep away the smell of the dead "so that it doesn't
strike in."

Bitter Roots. Many roots are known to-day under the
name of bitterbush, or bitter wortle, that is, bitter bush or
bitter root. The chief are the blue bush, *Boopis pallens*,
Hyssopifolium undulatum (*Asclepias crassa*?) and the Sand Bitter
root, a tall bush found in the mountains. These are so much
used by the present white population that the Afrikaans name
has quite ousted the Nama one. The blue-bush root is also
known as the black root, the wonderful emetic-purgative. These
roots are powdered and boiled, and the decoction is used for
pains in the stomach; if used for diarrhoea, then the stems of
the plant are included. The liquor so prepared is greenish in
colour and is exceedingly bitter, with a few resinous type of
bitterness.

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Dagga. Two species are recognized; white dagga, *Leontodon*
leontaria; and kipo dagga, *Leontodon ovata*. Gervaseus
mentions its use. The powdered leaves, he said, were made into
a little cake no bigger than a thumbnail, a coin about the size
of a modern shilling, which the Hottentots chewed, even as the
Indians and Chinese chewed opium. In 1780 its use, mixed
with tobacco introduced by the Europeans, is mentioned.
A decoction of the roots is used for headaches and for hem-
orrhoids. An ointment made from raw fat and pulverised dagga

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

KAFFIRS ON LAND OF THE HOTTENTOTS

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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief.

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DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the age of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more⁽¹⁾.

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Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked⁽²⁾ into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured.

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When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person⁽³⁾. If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it.

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They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ornament. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's

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⁽¹⁾ This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the skins he wore during life, and then buried shrouded, *op cit.*, 286 ff.)

⁽²⁾ The practice of burying nakedness by the Hottentots is contradicted by many later writers, but not by all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate *obscurely*, *op cit.*, 12.

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religion for Christianity, married a Dutch surgeon, and now lives a scandalous life, having been often banished from the Fort⁷¹; the third was called Sarah, and she hanged herself in despair because a loose Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word⁷².

CHAP. XV.

Their Habits.

These lawless barbarians and immoral pagan practices only those habits to which a blind impulse of nature irresistibly impels them. They take the same position in sitting as a furtive cat in the mother's womb, bowing the head upon the knees and embracing it with the elbows. They despise the female sex. They mourn their dead with lamentations for three days, both men and women sitting round the feet of the deceased. They dig a grave to inter the corpse, and cover it with a stone. Abandoned as they are to every vice, they practice the rite of Venus a posteriori; the woman rests upon her side higher up than the man, while he reclines in the hollow that serves him for a bed. Thus after the fashion of the beasts they rush on their mutual embrace.

years before he arrived at the Cape! An impost was duly held, but its report is unfortunately too long to be quoted here in full. It is reprinted in Maudslayi's Account, pp. 213-14, to which reference may be made by those curious to ascertain the contemporary attitude of the court towards suicide. The story in the official journal cuts most of the accompanying reflections of the court, but is sufficiently interesting to justify reproduction: "The morning, very early, came to our ears that a certain Hottentot, 40, about 34 years old, who had since her early childhood, had frequently attempted her by different methods, especially taught the Dutch language, and trained in English customs, had, without our being able to discover any reason, hanged herself in the steep part of a certain turpentine by means of her velvet head. An impost was held on the body by the 17th, in the presence of Commissioners, but no wounds were found on the body, so that she died from exhaustion. . . . According to resolution of the Council, the body of the female Hottentot was towards evening dragged by a dunnage to the gallows, and there, as a mark of such execrable conduct, placed with the head in a fork, and hanged between eleven and twelve." (D. Oct. 12, 1771.) Three weeks later the Journal contains the following further notice: "Discovered this morning that the fork on which the female Hottentot had been hanged had been taken down and fallen over. Careful inquiry failed to discover the author" (Jan. 14, 1772). On the following day, "Towards evening, in order to carry out the sentence, the above-mentioned female Hottentot was again hanged on the fork." (Jan. 15, 1772.)

The eldest son succeeds to the position of chief, and makes it his object to imitate his father's life and character. The interment takes place beside the road not far away. The dead man is wrapped in his harness and put sitting on his haunches in a deep trench with his knees moved up to his chin; thus, in the position he occupied as an embryo in his mother's womb, he is entrusted to the lap of earth.⁷¹ The interment is accompanied by loud wailings and groanings and beatings of the breast from those who have attended the funeral or gathered as spectators; and there is also to be heard the beating of the official women mourners who with forced tears and heavy sighs accomplish the due formalities, hymning the praises of the dead man while deep sobs interrupt their funeral dirges. A mound of stones forms the monument to the departed; one or two lofty poles or posts are erected upon it for a memorial; and a funeral feast forms the last act of the tragic drama.

As they withdraw from the tomb they pray for the dead man that his bones may rest in peace, and they beg and beseech him not to injure man or beast. And whenever they pass his grave, a branch is plucked near by, or a plant pulled from the earth, to strew upon it, and they cast themselves upon their faces and bewail the dead man's fate, reminding him of the public good and asking him how he can be there hid amid their tears and lamentations instead of rising from the dead to resume the care of his people. Since his departure from this life all things have gone headlong to the bad; let him now pity their unnumbered distress and come to the help of his suffering people. Thus praying they depart from the tomb.

An offender against the state is cast headlong into a cave or wild beast's den as into a dungeon. Nobody sheds a tear for him, and they crush him with curses and stones.

Immediately on their return from the funeral they wash themselves in a neighbouring stream or pool. Then they all sit in a circle on the floor of a hut and the eldest among them makes water⁷² on them as a lustral bath. Then, as a special sacrifice, a sheep or ox is slain, and, removing whatever they find in its stomach or bowels, the superstitious creatures sprinkle themselves, their cattle, and the hut with it. Finally all the flesh is devoured in a funeral feast.⁷³

addition to the departed, such as "remember us for good from the place to which you have gone" (cp. *ib.*, 280).

⁷² The washing and lustral bath after the funeral are practised by both Hottentots and Amakhoas, but the sprinkling with *it*, which is a Hottentot custom only.

774ments. He very soon turns against himself, by stating that the Khoikhoi must believe in a Supreme, but very powerful and fiendish Being, from whom they expect rain, thunder, lightning, cold, &c.; and he adds that various Colonists had told him that the Khoikhoi curse at the thunder, calling him "Gatsari and !Gannari," and "throwing something at the lightning and thunder.— (Sparmann, German edition, p. 196. Compare in the sequel the hymn to the Thunder and to the Lightning with this statement.)

778 Sparmann also makes mention of those mysterious cairns. He describes their size to be three to four feet in diameter. This is the general size of those Heitai-eibib cairns we meet with in Great Namaqualand. He searched in vain in one of those stone heaps for curiosities and antiquities; all he found was a few pieces of wood (p. 549).

The Graves of Heitai-eibib.

764 The learned Dr. Liechtenstein, who travelled in 1803
767 with the Dutch Commissioner de Mist through the Colony, gives a few but very valuable remarks. Liechtenstein and party were travelling in the Eastern Province Outeniqualand, and the field cornet Rademier was with them to show the road. "The well-informed Rademier," says Liechtenstein, "who had offered himself to show us the road for some distance, drew, not far from the road, our attention to the grave of a Hottentot, who, according to the general tradition of this people, long before the Christians had immigrated into these parts of the world, had been considered to be a great doctor and a wise man, and whose memory was honoured by the custom, that each Hottentot who passed by threw a fresh branch of flowers on the grave. We actually saw some half-dried branches which might have been thrown there only a few days ago. The grave consisted of a heap of stones about twenty to thirty yards in circumference.

It is interesting that this circumstance, which had not⁷⁶⁴ been "observed by former travellers, serves as a proof⁷⁶⁹ of the higher culture to which the Gonaquas had developed before the other Hottentots, because it was in their country to which this territory belonged. Afterwards we often found such graves towards the borders of Kafirland, but never have I met with anything of the kind in other parts of Africa."—(Lichtenstein, German original edition, p. 349.)

Afterwards the travellers came to the Camdeboo, and Bruintjeshoogte, and Lichtenstein continues his journal, saying: "Before it became dark we passed a narrow spot in the mountain, which is called the '*Israelitische kloof*' (the Pass of the Israelites). Here are various large grave-mounds which are heaped up with stones, and the first colonists in their pious simplicity believed that these were monuments left by the children of Israel who passed here on their wanderings through the desert to "Canaan."

Lichtenstein again, speaking of the Ama-||khoa-Kafir,⁷⁷⁶ says: "Amongst the ||Khoa there is no trace of a religious worship. They believe in a Supreme-Being, who has created the world; but, according to Dr. van der Kemp's assertion, there is no name for it in their language. But they have "adopted a name from the Gonaquas (a Khoikhoi tribe) and they call God now *Tshila*. The Gonaquas, however, call him *Tshete*, which word, according to van der Kemp, means '*the one who inflicts pain*,' and from some Kafirs I heard it also pronounced *Tshagaa*"—(Lichtenstein, vol. i p. 410.)

To this I may add, that Edmund Sandilli, the son of the late Sandilli, who is now a prisoner at the convict station in Cape Town, told me that they use u-Ti llo for God, a word they borrowed from the Hottentots.

The Kafirs evidently have also taken over the custom⁷⁶⁹ of which Lichtenstein speaks, p. 411: "There are⁷⁶⁴ spots which nobody will pass without adding a stone, a

769 branch, or a handful of grass. They themselves do not
769 know the reason of this practice; but these spots are
very likely the graves of persons of high reputation,
whose bodies pious superstition desires to protect from
being injured by wild animals; and therefore every one
who passes by enlarges the stone heap by adding new
stones and branches."

Teti-tigwab.

776 Van der Kemp, a missionary, who died at Bethelsdorp
(Eastern Province) about 1811, has published a Cate-
chism in the Hottentot language. Unfortunately nothing
but the title of it, which was written in the Eastern
Gonaqua idiom, has been handed down to us; and
in this title appears the word *Teti-tigwab*, for God, un-
doubtedly the same as "Teti-tigwab of the Nama, Teti-
tigwab of the !Kora, and Tiqua or Tigon and Tanqua
of the Cape Hottentots.

Further, Appleyard in his Kafir Grammar, p. 13, gives
a short outline of the !Kora language, and notes the
name God in Khoikhoi, as follows:

"Hottentot: Tsoei'kosp.

Namaqua: Tsoei'kosp.

Koranna: Tshu'koab, and says in a footnote: "This
is the word from which the Kafirs have probably derived
their u-Tixo, a term which they have universally applied,
like the Hottentots, to designate the Divine Being, since
the introduction of Christianity. Its derivation is curious.
It consists of two words, which together mean the wounded
knee. It is said to have been originally applied to a
doctor or sorcerer of considerable notoriety and skill
amongst the Hottentots or Namaquas some generations
back, in consequence of his having received some injury
in his knee. Having been held in high repute for extra-
ordinary powers during life, he appeared to be invoked
even after death, as one who could still relieve and protect;

and worshipped up to this very moment by the inhabitants of Great Namaqualand and the North-western Cape Colony. 776

Every Nama from whom I inquired told me that this Heitai-ehib is their great-grandfather, and a great powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the East, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. Therefore they make the doors of their huts towards the East, where the sun and moon rise. This custom is so peculiar to them that those who possess waggon always put these vehicles alongside of their houses, with the front towards sunrise. All the graves are directed towards the East, and the face of the deceased is also turned to that direction. Heitai-ehib conquered and annihilated all his enemies, who killed his people. He was very clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in future. Amongst the Bunde-Zwart, or Gamifona, I heard the following story, which I afterwards traced, more or less varied, among the Habebes, Kharogei-khais, and O-gais. 777

*Heitai-ehib's battles with Gama-igorib (Hag-igai-igai),
Amel and the Lion.*

Heitai-ehib lived on one side, but Gama-igorib, Hag-igai-igai and the Lion lived on the other side, on three roads, in the middle (between him and his people). There were also people living in the neighbourhood. And these people were Heitai-ehib's people. Heitai-ehib sent for them, but he waited in vain. At last he heard a rumour why they did not come. He then started to look after them, and came first to the place of Gama-igorib. But he passed and did not call, as a Khoikhoi generally does when he is travelling (and passes a kraal of another). Gama-igorib sent his messenger the Hare to call Heitai-ehib. But the latter gave no answer. Again the Hare was sent, and Heitai-ehib, following the invitation, said to Gama-igorib: "I have come to look after my people." But on the place of Gama-igorib there was a hole, and 778

buy again milk-goats and cows, that our little ones may live."

"But your father is dead" I said; "how will he hear?"

"Yes, he is dead," she answered, "but he only sleeps! We Khokhoi always, if we are in trouble, go and pray at the graves of our grand-parents and ancestors; it is an old custom of ours."

Is there a difference between this woman and Napoleon III., who, like the old kings of France, was so eager to play the part of the Eldest Son of the Church, and who was certainly addicted to ancestor worship, if the recently published will of April 14th, 1875, is genuine? "We must remember," writes the Emperor, "that those we love look down upon us from Heaven and protect us. It is the soul of my great uncle which has always guided and supported me. Thus will it be with my son, also if he proves worthy of his name."—(*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1875); Vide Fuschel, "Race of Man," p. 261.)

Another custom, which also proves that the Khokhoi believe that the person in the grave is not quite dead, is that of throwing water on the grave shortly after the burial. When asked why they do this, they say, in order to cool the soul of the deceased. The grave is also called *han*—i.e., "the unhappy, discontented;" *han* signifies "dissatisfied." If, for instance, an ox is slaughtered, the cattle can be seen to hold a gathering at that spot, throwing up dust with their horns and feet, and the bulls especially commence roaring like lions. Then the Khokhoi say: *Goman* to *han*, the cattle are dissatisfied—i.e., they protest against the death of their comrade. Another word is *hanim*, which also means, to protest, but in a very energetic way.